

K A M E E;

AND I L E

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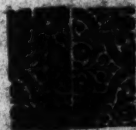
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A D I A L O G V E;

VVherein is shewne the indecency, and
unreasonablenesse of persecuting, and afflict-
ting tender Consciences; for differences in
matters of Religion.

Especially in England, where no one Reli-
gion is long in Fashion.

Nihil est quod malignitas vellicare non possit. Senec.



Printed in the Year, 164⁸.

K. A. M. E.

AND LEE

K. A. T. H. E.

OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

AND LEE

VI. It is shown the necessity, and

the manner of the institution, and the

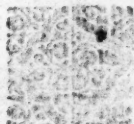
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Printed in the Year 1842

(A)
Ka Mee, and He Ka Thee.



Major Elden. *Captaine Freeman,* well met;
 How farest thou man? what news?
 how all amost? what is his Excellency
 troubled with his Figs peticoes? or has
 Nell got a clappe in the North? Pish,
 there was no such skirmish, a meere slan-
 derous tale of *Pragmatians*.

Captaine Freeman. What de'st tell me
 of such toppenies? I would all the Libel-

ling Pamphleteers were hanged.

Major. Now I like thy devotion, and with them thy Britanike *Archilochus*; that has his Pen made of the scale of a Basilisk, dips it in *Aconite*, and in every line is guilty of *Crimen laesa Majestas*, and *scandalum magnum*; and that Incendiary the Moderate Intelligencer, who of late is turned plaine Bonifew, has left off lying a-broad, and falls to raile clofly at Domestick Affaires; then take a Whelp of the same Litter, that Catamdiated Ironmonger; if these pernicious Vermin were hanged together, would they not looke like so many Poulcats and Foxes trussed up on a Gibbet to terrifie their surviving Companions. These Outlandish Scritch-Owles, and illbonding Ravens dive into the bosome of Statemen, before they have unbuttoned their doublets, with their malicious predictions spoyle businesse before they are attempted, and would smother even in the Cradle all good success of the so long wished for Treaty. And what say you to the Sermonist at Peters Baules Wharfe? Septemb. 24. he layes about him on all sides like rough *Issac*, flashes the *Presbyterians*, fights with the Independents, challenges the Army, beates downe the Parliament, has a bout with the Deists, forgets his owne Principles, contradicts the Scriptures, makes the people believe all the Popes delicta

are bought with the Revenue of Indulgencies ; and every dish baked , boyled , and roasted , are drest by the fire of Purgatory ; But to the purpose Capitaine ; what makes thee looke so maddily , like a Compounding Malignant , more dejectedly then a vanquished Cavalier ? what is it the casting out of the long Petition ? I hope thats digested by this time.

Freeman. No , no , I am come from delivering a short one , a modest one , an humble one , and that forsooth they scorne to answer : Have wee fought all this while , ventured and lost our lives , conquered our Enemies , put downe Popery , and Prelacy , and all this to set up foppery , and Presbytery ? Have our Hogen Mogen Heeren , so soone forgot the power of our invincible Army ? Is our Ovant March through the City out of memory ? Doe not the impeached Members remember they posted fugitives for Holland ? And did wee for this connive at their re-admission to joyne Forces against the Common Enemy the Scot , the revolted Navy , and so many insurrections in England , and Wales ? And all these suppressed , and subdued by our Victorious Forces ; dare these fisking Hounds that the other day clapt their tails betwix their legs , returne unto their former vomit ? like *Alexons* Curres disdain to acknowledge their Masters ? Well , heeres a Declaration touches their Coppy hold to the quick , shall take them a button hole lower , and what is heere exprest , demanded , and resolved , shall be prosecuted to the full.

Major. Prethee lets peruse it : Ha , you are very high : *Wee cannot comply with any in the preposterous pretended Treaty with the King , intending siding with Him to slave our selves , and our Posterity , and the whole Kingdome , before these Particulars be ascertained us : Pray God your Particulars be modest.* 1. *That they make good the Supremacie of the people from all pretences of Negative Voices , whether be of King or Lords.* How now ? Well , Ile say nothing of his Majesty , for he (poore Gentleman) has been laid aside by both the Houses , the Army , and the people these many yeares , though now during the Treaty he is come a litle into play ; but for our wise Lords , have not they brought their hogs to a faire market ? 2. *That Lawes be forthwith made for electing Representatives yearly , without Writs or Summons :* Very good , That the time of their sitting shall not exceede fifty dayes at most , and that this present Parliament end within

within twenty dayes : Heere *Wormwood* ; how will our 400 Demy-Gods relish this ? If quietly they render up their Staffe of Office ; How will they content the world ? which thinkes them drunke with a strong confidence they shall be perpetuall dictators, rule the roost, and mannage all affaires world without end? *Lucian* tells of a Tragedian that playd furious *Ajax* so seriously, that he fell mad indeede ; And our Burgeses many thinke have so long royallized it, that they are turned true Kings, theyle never endure to be deposed. Theyle sweare *Sylla* by his abdication proved no good Grammarian, and did not know what belonged to an absolute Dictatorship. And the same *Cornelius Sylla* having made himselfe a private man, and followed by a yong boy in the open streets, even to his owne doore, and at every step reviled with the name of bloodthirsty Tyrant ; bore all these approbrious speeches with much patience, and very soberly, though Prophetically sayd: This yong man will teach others not so loone to part with such an absolute power, which proved afterwards true in *Julius Caesar*.

Freeman. This Article stands with all the reason in the world. To be a Parliament man is either honourable and beneficiall, or troublesome, and full of cares. If this last, why should these men onely and alwayes beare the burden and heate of the day ? A Gods name, let *Isabro's* Elders ease *Moses* of his too much sollicitude, and cumbersome imployment : If honourable and beneficiall, have wee not a world of able men, and as well quallified and deserving as our Senate ? Why should not such share in the honour, and participate in the profit ?

Major The fourth, *That matters of Religion be exempted from all compulsive, and restrittive power of any Authority whatsoever* : I marry, If you can get this, get all ; what would you have England as free as Amsterdam, copiously furnished with above 100 severall Religions ; yet wee had an Englishman could not finde one of his owne Religion amongst them all. You'd have our Kingdoms another *Hannibals* Army, composed of a thousand discrepant Dialects, a new Babel, where the Mechanicks that builded a Fanatick Tower should reach to Heaven, are confounded in as many tongues as they have Trades.

Freeman. I strongly averre it, that if England, in this con-

vince imitated Amsterdam, our Nation would be as happy as Holland, the most flourishing Commonwealth in Christendome: And all this liberty be granted we shall never have peace nor plenty in the Land: What began all these Combinations in England? Was it not the obtruding of a new forme of Liturgy, or Common prayer booke upon the Scots, by *D. Cantuar* Archb. of Canterbury? This was the first stone which never ceased rolling till it rolled the Scotch Prelates out of their Bishopricks, then stript our Bishops of their voices in the House of Peeres, then of their Episcopal Dignities and Functions (the Houses voting with great applause of the people, there should be no more Bishops:) Lastly of all their Revenues, and Livings, which are now sold and bought at *Robin Hood* penny worth; and that with a great deal of foresighted providence: For as *Knox* intending to root out of Scotland the Masse, and Roman Religion (like another *Achishophel*) advised the people to pull downe the nests of the Cawen (meaning the Churches where Masses were celebrated) and then the Cawen would no more build in them: So these Ecclesiasticall and ample Revenues being sold away, and alienated, the Pompous Cathedrallicall Prelates will not so easily be restored: Nay was not this violent obtrusion of such a forme of Service upon Scotland (if wee seriously consider) the *primus mobilis* and sole cause that turned King *Charles* out of his Throne, his Queene, and Royall Children out of the Kingdome?

Major. You say right Captaine; yet I cannot be of your opinion to admit such a Gallymaufrey, and *Olla-Podrida* of Religions: I thinke 'tis neither for the good nor safety of a Kingdome: Yet I must confesse the impetuous obtruding the Common prayer booke on the Kirke of Scotland, was the Origen of all these breyles and combinations which ensued in England: And I wish that occasion had not been given to the people to open their eyes, or rather to some Machivellian Statists to apply perspective glasses to the eyes of the people, and make them look further into busineses both of Church and State, then they otherwise would, or indeed ought to have done.

Freeman. It is certain the insatiation is the ordinary forerunner of perdition. At the same time the sayd Archbishop of Canterbury is joyning an Oath on the Clergy. As I remember he

had the consent of the Convocation House for it, notwithstanding it was very much disguised of the Churchmen, and afterwards proved amongst one of the Articles objected against him. He showed indeed a zeale and tender care of His Majesty, but that zeale in those circumstances was interpreted not to be according to discretion. Another maine error the Prelates committed in being so ready and violent (especially Dr. *Morton* Bishop of Durham) in excluding the Papist Lords from their suffrages and Votes in the House of Peeres (their birthright indeed) whereby presently followed their owne deprivation, and expulsion out of the same House. They might have considered the Votes of those Catholick Barons joyned with the suffrages of the Bishops, would have carryed a great sway in that House: And according to the received axiome and opinion, that Episcopacy does so sympathize with Monarchy by their too eager opposition against them, they could not but much weaken the party of the King, and finally undo themselves.

Major. This was a maine error in policy, but was not that as foule a misdemeanour, when being in their Pontification, and huske of Authority, they so persecuted the Non-conformists, and filled the Prisons with poore men, inso much, as their high Commission Court proved far worse than the Spanish Inquisition; for in that sufficient provision is made to sustaine the Prisoners, nor are they urged to accuse themselves, as here they are by the Oath *ex Officio*. I will not insist how long they were kept in the examination of their Causes, that so continuall, and unconscionable Fees might be drawne from them, to the utter undoing of a world of godly and religious people.

Freeman. *Major,* I now perceive you can both seele and speake, when the inconvenience of force and compulsion in affaires of conscience touches your selves. And was see what heere burnings these oppressions, and contraining mens consciences have wrought in the affections of the people. How evident is the memory of Bishop *Bennet*, and other Prelates in *Queene Maries* time, even at this day to mock of our Protestants, though I have heard many moderate men of the Catholick Party mistake the then proceedings of the Bishops, as more favouring of rigorous zeale, than of a compassionate discretion: Moreover Mr. *Forsyth* hath been

been often taxed, that in hate of that Religion he multiplied his Martyrs, and canonized some for Saints in Heaven, who lived many yeares after notorious Varlets on earth. And it was enough for him to make any firebrand Sectary, if he railed against the Pope and Clergy, a Martyr of his Church. You shall heare what the Author of the eleventh Persecution, in his eight Chapter writes, making a concluding Parallell between the Popish Persecution in *Queene Marias* dayes, and this (as he calls it) Puritan "Persecution; in *Terminis* he sayes; The Parliament, as it hath slain "more thousands of English Subjects, then *Queene Mary* condemned scores; So it hath lesse show of justice or legall proceedings, all being now done *curam non Judicis*, by upstart Committees, and new erected Judicatories, never heard of in England "before: As also *sine Legibus* by meer arbitrary votes, and fancies "of malicious Adversaries, and Judges in their owne cause, nor "were any in *Queene Marias* condemned, but by knowne Lawes "of the Land and Legall triall, with disputations, and perswasions "used to reclaim them from their supposed Errors; but the Puritan "persecution is to hunt after matters of accusation, not to reform "Errors, but to torment the Persons of men, and *condemnati quoniam* " *am accusati*, is their justice: howsoever if we revolve Ecclesiasticall Histories we shall observe much lenity, and tendernesse practised by the Fathers of those primitive times in reclaiming Sectaries, and such as differed from them in points of Religion. *Arius* was a pestilent fellow, and the first Arch heretick, for whose cause, and blasphemous opinion, a generall Counsell was called; and behold with what meeknesse, lenity, and industry, the holy Bishops assembled at Nice, dealt with him not with fire and sword; but their weapons were fervent prayers for his conversion, and efficacious reasons drawn out of the Scripture for his constitation. After him rose up *Phocasius*, *Macedonius* Bishop of Constantinople, *Aetius* and *Ennomius*, who taught most grosse Errors against every person of the blessed Trinity: Then *Arrianus* who discontented that he could not be ordained Bishop added to *Arianisme* his owne phanaticke opinions, namely, that there was no difference between a Bishop and a Priest: Feasts and Fasts commanded by the Church were not to be observed, no sacrifice nor prayers were to be offered for the dead.

Major.

Major. But were these tenents esteemed hereticall so many yeares agoe?

Freeman. *Epiphanius heresi*, 77. and *St. Augustine her.* 53. ad *Quod vult Deum. list Arians*, in the Catalogue of hereticks for these assertions. But to our purpose. After these succeeded many principall Sectmasters, who with their new fangled novelties troubled the Church; as *Helvidius*, *Jovinian*, and *Pelagius*, and a hundred more of the same litter: But what was the course the ancient Doctors tooke to suppress the growth of their dangerous Errours? either by assembly of Synods, or by solid arguments in elaborated treatises, they convinced, and confuted their fopperies. But wee shall never read of imprisonments, confiscations, banishments, much lesse of capitall punishments; only when the Arians got the upper hand by the imperiall power of *Constantius*, *Valens*, and afterwards the Vandals in Africa under *Genserius*, then all cruelties, imprisonments, plundings, mutilations, Massacres were with most barbarous impiety practised against the Orthodox Christians. And *Victor Uricensis* (an eye witness, and sufferer in the same) makes a large and lamentable relation with what diabollicall policies the Vandall Machiavellians enacted Lawes to entrap and thrust the Catholick Clergy, and Laity out of their dignities, Offices, and all charge in the Common wealth, 'tis well worth your knowledge: and the story is as followeth.

Genserius having overrun Spaine, Fraunce, and Italie, wasted over his Vandalls into Africa, wresting the same from the Roman Empire, intruded himselfe into the Sovereignty there of (being as this Island) by Sea divided from the rest of the Empire: He was no sooner seated in his unjust perquisites, then suddenly surprized with feares and jealousies how to keep his new conquered Kingdome from the true owner the Emperour, he deemed no way more fit for the preservation thereof then by dissonant, and irreconcilable opinions in Religion, to divide the peoples hearts from all society with the Empire, and by establishing the Arian heresie to alienate them from all communion with Greece, Italie, and the rest of Christendome. Wherefore Oathes of State were contrived thereby to entrap the Orthodox Christians; the Masse, Sacrifices, Rights, and Ecclesiasticall Ceremonies were abolished, and in their place the *Arian* forme for Common prayer was set

up. Disputations were offered to the Catholick Bishops, but violently and uncivilly demeaned. The Bishops were driven from their Sees, the Clergy exiled, and a new race of Bishops, and Priests put in their places. Senators were removed from the Senate, and thrust out of their dwelling mansions. The Catholick people were not suffered to beate Offices, but were confined, restrained, and forbidden to be harboured, or relieved. The best sort in a manner enslaved, their goods brought forth and seized, themselves branded to be wicked and impious, their Priests seditious. Vestments and Ornaments of the Church were prophaned, and turned to common uses, bookes were rifled and prohibited, Christian buriall denied, and all places of prayer and sacrifice debarred: If any Catholick took the Oath of State, yet notwithstanding he was restrained from having bookes in his house, from baptizing, from giving Orders, from reconciling. The very name of Rome was maliced, the Bishop thereof vilified and hated, and the name of Catholicks denied to Orthodox Professors. All imperiall Lawes made against Hereticks were turned, and practized against Catholicks; who for covetousnesse of their goods were the trampling stockes of all beggerly and needy people. Above all the rage of the *Arrian* Bishops, Apostates and Pursuivants was most furious, exceeding even that of the Tyrant himselfe: For the Pursuivants having Commission from the State, and incited by the cruel and bloodthirsty *Arrian* Bishops, frequently searched the Prisons, where many reverend Prelates, learned Priests, and Catholicke Gentlemen and Gentlewomen lay in miserable durance; and under pretence of taking away their Church stufte, robbed them of considerable summes of money, which was sent in by charitably disposed persons to maintaine a multitude of Prisoners, and preserve them from starving, plundered them of their cloths and household stufte, tooke away their bookes, though of humane literature, which they forced the poore Priests to redeeme for monies.

Major. What people were these Pursuivants? And is it possible that a Commonwealth or any Nation governed by Lawes as you mention the Vandals were, should permit such enormities, or not rather punish so great injustice?

Freeman. These Pursuivants were a certaine Generation of pernicious

pernicious Vipers, ravenous Harpies of a Kingdome; colli-strigated boote halers : You might take a dozen of them; and amongst them all not finde one Jewes eare to bolle in milke, and save your Childes life troubled with a sore throate : For the permission or connivance of these Messengers, who were throughout the whole Persecution *nocturni Ambulantes, diurni Nebulones*; you must understand, so implacable was the hatred of the State, (which pollicy and private ends augmented) against Catholicks, that though complaints were made, and Petitions exhibited; yet no eare was allowed, nor redresse granted; untill God (against whom there is no policy, craft, subtilty, counsell, wit, wildome, or prevention) eased the yoke of the afflicted, first by an horrible Famine and mortallity, then by the subduing and extinguishment of the Vandals. Lastly, by reuniting the Provinces both to the union of the Roman Empire, and Communion of the Catholick Church. These barbarous and inhumane persecutions of the Vandall Arrianis have bin detested in all after times, and I much feare that for e Machiavellians in our, and our fathers memories have fetcht their projects, plots, & machinations in their intended overthrow of all Religion from these uncircumcised Barbarians. And let us consider whether wee have not invented Oathes, which have most grievously trenched on mens consciences, and withall adjoyned penalties to be inflicted on such who refuse to take them; namely, to incurre a *premunire*, perpetuall imprisonment, confiscation of their goods: Yea for the Clergy it was made death in Queen *Elizabeths* time, to refuse the Oath of Supremacy : And it was practised for the space of 80 yeares, that who refused to goe to Church, and heare Divine Service, should pay 20*l.* a Month, or two parts of their estate. And now the same Divine Service (as they then called it) or Common prayer booke is put downe, and condemned by this Parliament as damnable and superstitious : What shall wee say, was there any justice, or was it not against all Law, conscience, and justice to punish Recusants, and so heavily, making them Delinquents ? Because they would not wrong their conscience in going to such a Service which was damnable, and superstitious. I aske this question, the booke of Common prayer was either holy, and good, or superstitious, and damnable ? If good, why was it with such disgrace abolished ? If bad, why would they compell men to frequent the aforelaid Service, and enact

enact such penalties for those who refused to heare the same : Nor can it be answered that the Parliament ordaining the said Common prayer booke to be used, and sayd in all Churches through the Kingdome, bestowed goodnesse on the booke, and made it holy : So likewise the Parliament declaring the same booke to be superstitious and damnable, makes it to be so indeed. For as in Objects of our Faith there is an intrinsecall, and constant verity, neither can Counsellors make them by their Declarations, Articles of our beliefe, but onely that such and such positions were either immediately revealed, or are by necessary consequence deduced out of Principles revealed. Nor is it in the power of Synods by any Declarations whatsoever, to make what is false true, or what is true false : So likewise in morall Actions, such as the Worship of God, belonging to Religion (a morall Virtue) there is an inherent dignity and goodnesse conforme and acceptable to the will of God unalterable by any Parliament, or constitutions of men. And though Parliaments may presume to ordaine and command such Religious Service to be practised, and used in a Kingdome, and following Parliaments take upon them to annull, abrogate, and abolish the said Religious Acts, and forme of Service ordained, and established by their Predecessors : Yet notwithstanding all such Ordinances, Declarations, and injunctions, the said forme of Common prayer is neither better nor worse in its owne nature, that is either in conformity to the will of God, or obliquity, and repugnance to the sayd divine will ; but if once pleasing and holy, it is still and ever will be so : If superstitious and bad, it was ever so, and will alwayes so remaine. I meane in this last state of grace, when by our Saviours fullfilling the Law, the Sacrifices, Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies of *Moses* were evacuated : Nor may wee expect new Law-givers, or new Revelations in substantiall points of beliefe and divine worship. Wherefore as if because at some times of the day, namely morning and evening, my body casts a larger shadow then at other houres of the same day, to wit about noone (without the least contraction or extension of my stature & dimensions) I should be esteemed a foole or a madman, if looking on my shadow I would either glory in my height at one time, or be dejected seeing my selfe represented a Dwarf at another ; the shadow neither adding

ding to ; nor diminishing the just stature and proportion of my body. In like manner it were a great want of judgement to imagine that any Commonwealth or Senate Representative of that Commonwealth, can with the shadow of their Ordinances, and Declarations adde to, or take from the worth and dignity of any Liturgy, or Common prayer booke, if it be good and holy, or the obliquity, if damnable and superstitious : Wherefore such, who sit at the Helme of States, ought with much caution and consideration be carefull what they impose on the people in this kinde, and with the like warinesse be advised how they abolish the same once commanded, and by publick Authority established. There hapned in Michaellmas Terme, 1647. an odde passage at the Sessions of Newgate, where a Gentleman pleading for his life in danger by the severity of our Lawes (in matters of Religion) told the Recorder that for many yeares the Recusants were persecuted, imprisoned, and forced to pay large summes of monies, because they could not so far stretch their consciences as to go to heare such prayers, which were now condemned as damnable and superstitious, and he adjoynd that by this Declaration and condemnation, the Parliament had done the Recusants much right in manifesting to the world why they lost their goods, were imprisoned, and suffered death, namely, because they did not conforme themselves to what was by the Parliament condemned as damnable and superstitious.

Major. What said the Recorder to this Plea?

Freeman. Serjeant *Greene* sate in the place of Mr. *Glin* (being at that time in the Tower, and impeached of high Treason) and answered the Gentlemans arguments very learnedly.

Major. Pray how?

Freeman. With club-Law, he commanded the Gentleman should presently be put in irons, and carried to the common Goale.

Major. That was very hard for speaking truth; yet you know that in most parts of Christendome they punish Sectaries; and such who professe a contrary Religion.

Freeman. I know well that in some places they do so, but withall say they are too blame for doing so : Now whereas you said in all Countreyes they use a coercive power, and punish such

who do not conform themselves to the Religion, and Ecclesiasticall discipline of those Kingdomes is not generally true; but rather for the most part generally not so? for in the Low-Countryes; many parts of Germany, all Fraunce we see a tolleration, or at least a connivence in permitting the Subject to enjoy the liberty of his conscience: Nay, the great Turke who is most precise in restraining disputations about his Alcoran. suffers the Grecians to profess Christianity: So likewise the Georgians in Asia, without vexations, and compulsion, frequent their owne Churches and assemblies. I must ad more, in Egypt there are foure severall Religions drawne from so many severall interpretations of the Mahometan Law, yet the chiefe Bishops, and Priests, though divided in opinion, live in much concord one with another, have conferences and disputations about their tenents with eagernesse, not rancour defending their owne, and impugning the contrary opinions; the people also, though imbracing so different Sects live very peaceable together? Is true there is an Inquisition in Italy; but not so rigorous as our late high Commission Court: For Spaine you must understand that Countrey was overrun by the Moores, and the Mahometan Religion giving so large a scope to sensuality and libertinisme, unto which by reason of their hot constitution, the Spanyards are very prone; an inquisition there, for businesse of faith was very requisite: Yet notwithstanding, the same Inquisition, because it trenches on mens consciences is not approved even of some most learned Romane Divines; you shall heare what Gerson Chancellour of Paris saies in this very poynt, *Morte verò punire posse Hereticos, &c.* It never was a Generall tenent of the Church that Hereticks, though convicted, yea relapsed, and most obstinate, might be punished with death, if there were no danger of Sedition and Rebellion against the Commonwealthe. And concerning the practice of the Inquisition, it is certaine that very many Catholicks, and extraordinary learned have disallowed that practice, though this is a businesse of fact, or rather prudence, and discretion, not of Doctrine. St. Augustine likewise much commendeth those Imperiall Lawes which punished Hereticks, but not with death. And Ep. 48. the same Father is much more favourable; for he writeth thus: *It was alwayes my opinion that no man should be compelled to the Unity of Christ, but he ought to be dealt with by wordes, and sought with by disputations,*

putations, and convinced by reasons, lest for true Christians wee have dissembling Catholics. And this great Doctour speaks with much reason; for when people are compelled either for feare of death, or corporall punishment, or losse of their goods to embrace a Religion, which they in their understanding esteeme not right, though the same Religion should be true, yet their erroneous conscience makes the profession of that faith pernicious and damnable to them, according to that of the Apostle. *Quod non est ex fide peccatum est*, meaning whatsoever is done against a mans conscience is a sinne. Neither is there any constant perseverance to be expected in such convertites; for ordinarily they change and shift their Religions as often as Players doe their clothes. And for my part I confesse, I could never meete with a solid reason, why heere in England there should be such mutuall enmity, hatred, bitternesse, and persecutions for diversity of opinions in Religion, since Protestant, Puritan, Brownist, Anabaptist, and the rest agree in Fundamentall Points of Faith.

Major. But what say you to the Papist? I hope you'll grant they differ from us all in substantiall points.

Freeman. You Presbyterians must still have about with the Papists: To answer you concerning them, I must tell you, that King James intending a match betwixt his Sonne Prince Charles, and the Spanish Lady, and understanding that persecution for Religion would be the maine obstacle in that businesse, demanded of George then Archbishop of Canterbury (who though a Bishop was alwayes reputed a great Puritan) whether Recusants might be saved; the Archbishop replied, he did not doubt but they might be saved, and many were actually Saints in Heaven: Whereupon the King rejoyned, he knew no reason, If the Protestants and Papists lived quietly, and reigned gloriously in Heaven, why they should vex one another, and for such differences in opinion, which did not impede their title and entrance into eternall glory: And if wee consider rightly, wee must acknowledge (unlesse wee deny all Histories) our Kingdome beholding to the Papists for the conversion of this Nation to Christianity, for the building our Churches, and endowing them with Ecclesiasticall Revenues, for erecting our Universities, founding our Colledges, and leaving us almost all our Monuments of Learning.

Piercy,

piety, and Charity, as Free Schooles the Innes of Court and Hospitals: Now let us reflect upon our selves; have not we dealt pittily with them? first we turned them out of their livings, imprisoned, banished them, have hanged, and still hang 'em for profession of their Religion.

Major. The first man (as I have read) that seized on Church-livings here in England was King *Henry* the 8. I pray tell mee what Religion was he of?

Freeman. King *Henry* the 8 was in all points a Roman Catholick, except in that of the Supremacy, which he of all our English Kings first tooke upon him: he was a Prince so tyrannicall and cruell, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his Preface to the History of the world, writeth, if all the Acts, and bloody deeds of Tyrants in former ages were not recorded, but quite forgot, his onely life would afford a true and most genuine Character of an impious and inhumane Tyrant: And tis true what you said that he first violently tooke away the livings of the Church; but he proceeded in his Rapine and Sacriledge by degrees: For first, *Anno Regni* 21. he seized on Yorke House anciently belonging to the Arch Bishops of Yorke, by the attainder of *Cardinall Wolsey* in a *premunire*, and compelled the *Cardinall* before a Judge of Records to acknowledge the same (being then most sumptuously by him built and furnished) to be the Kings right; and thereupon the King changed the name, and called it White-Hall. In the 22. yeare of his Raigne he tooke the Hospitall of Saint *James* into his hands, together with all the Medowes, and Pastures thereunto belonging, as commodious for his house of White-Hall, made a parke thereof, built a faire Pallace, and inclosed all within a brick wall. In the 24. of his Raigne he suppressed the Priory of Christ-Church in London, sent the Canons to other Pories, and gave their Church, Plate, and other jewels to Sir *T Audley*. In the 26. year he suppressed and seized the houses of the observant Fryers at Greenwich, Canterbury, Richmond, Newark, and Newcastle; and finding the sweet thereof, he suppressed other petty Religious Houses: All which he did as he was head of the Church, by the vertue of his Supremacy, without consent of the Parliament. Afterwards in he yeares of his Raigne, 27. 29. and 30. he suppresses by Parliamentary consent greater Abbies, Monasteries, and Pories, with other

Other Religious Houses, yet such as were under 200. in yearly Revenues, them the King erected a Court of Augmentation for the receipt of his Revenues, comming in upon the said suppressions. The Rhodes of Grace, and of Saint *Margaret* by Tower Street were prophaned and defaced. Also those places of devorion at *Wallingam*, and *Ipswich*, *Lewes*, and *Bat-taile* Abbies in *Suff. x.* *Martin* Abby in *Surrey*, *Stratford* Abby in *Eff. x.* *St. Augustines* with *Thomas Becketts* Shrine in *Canterbury*. *St. Thomas de Acres* in *London*, the *Black Fryars*, the *White Fryars*, the *Charterhouse* Monkes, and a multitude of other houses in divers parts of the Realme, whereof divers exceeded 2000. in yearly Revenues, contrary to the meaning of the Parliament, though in the 31. yeare of his Raigne, the Parliament gave to the King all the greatest Monasteries, Priories, and Abbies in *England* and *Wales*, as *Westminster*, *Glastenbury*, *St. Albans*, *St. Edmundsbury*, *Redding*, and others. In the yeare following the Corporation of *St. Johns of Jerusalem* founded for the defence of *Christendome* against the *Turkes*, *Saracens*, & *Infidels*, together with all the *Commandries*, *Manners*, *Lands*, *Tenements*, and *hereditaments* thereunto belonging, were to the everlasting shame of our Nation, given to the King by Parliamentary consent, and Authority. In the 37. yeare of his Raigne, the Parliament (a constant Pander, and officious Hee-Baud to this Kings lusts, Sacriledges, and Tyrannies) granted to the King all Colledges (the University Colledges excepted) free Chappells, Chauntries, Brotherhoods, and stipendiary Priests, with all their Lands Rents, and Hereditaments: Likewise a confirmation of the grants of certaine Lands, parcells of the Archbishopricks of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, and the Bishoprick of *London*, and power to erect the aforesayd Monasteries into *Manners*.

Major. You speake of infinite Treasures, which must accrew to the Kings Coffers out of these Ecclesiasticall Revenues: and I have heard that he had six or seven and thirty cart loades of Gold, Silver, and Jewels, brought from the Shrine of *St. Thomas of Becket* at *Canterbury* to *London*, and sold to one *Traps* a Goldsmith in *Cheapside*. Also *Chancellor Bacon* writes, that his Father *Henry* the 7. lent him at his death 38. hundred thousand pounds; what became of these inestimable summes?

Fremman. King Henry was a Prince by nature profuse, and had time enough to consume those monies left by his Father, before he fell to his sacrilegious Rapines, and robbing the Church. And concerning these unjust perquisites from the Clergy, and Regulars, you must know that what is got over the Devills back, rots under his Dams belly. Many or most of these Church Lands were sold at Robin Hoods penny worths; others bestowed on the Nobility, and Gentry, to engage them to uphold and further the sacriledge, some exchanged for other Lands. All these immense summes; as they were ill gotten, so were they as ill spent in the Kings unnecessary wars with Scotland, and France: For by these sales most of the treasure of the Land fell into the Kings hands, who transported and exhausted the same in his forraine wars, leaving the Realme without its common stocke of Bullion, through want whereof the King was forced to stampe his face in Brass, and compell his Subjects by crying downe the pure and good money, to take the same. Neither did most of those that better, who purchast of the King Church Livings, the Lands of the Church sympathizing in nature with the beerbe *Trapheno*, which consumes both it selfe, and all Plants growing with it. No otherwise (as hath bene well observed) the Lands and Patrimonies of the Church (like the Horse of *St. Seins*, or the goodly Indian Elephant fatal to many Masters, and great Monarkes) have bene the overthrow, ruine, and undoing of the owners, possessors, and purchasers.

Major. The Parliament could not but understand the King had no title or right to seize on the Possessions of the Church, being bestowed on Clergy men by the founders and benefactors for pious uses ordained to the service of God: Wherefore I wonder why they would condescend to such unjust grants, and confirme the injurious depredations by Acts of Parliament.

Fremman. Many of the Parliament were sharers and gainers in these unlawfull Perquisites; and if any out of conscience did withstand the Kings will and demands, his custome was to send for one of the chiefe opposers, and whispering in his ears, tell him Sirrha, I have such a businesse in agitation, and I understand you, and some others your Companions hinder it, let me have it done, or I'll have your throate cut. In such circumstances, what should the poore soules doe? It is good sleeping in a whaleskin.

Major.

Peuter
had been
fitter for a
great plat-
ter face.

Major. 'Twas a supreme Providence of God, that *Henry* the 8. reigned not in these dayes; our Patriots (the zealous Burgeses of the present Parliament) would have againe, and againe contradicted, and frustrated his lawlesse desires, though every one had lost as many lives as a cat has.

Freeman. I cannot tell that. The Lyon, the Asse, and the Wolfe went a hunting, with condition the spoile should be equally divided: They kill a fat Buck; the Asse is appointed to cut out the shares, who with much care and scruple deals to every one an equall part. The furious Lyon with much indignation tears silly *Sigieur Asse* in peeces, and commands the Wolfe to make the division, who reserving a poore shoulder to himselfe, presents all the rest to his Lord and Sovetaigne, who well contented, asked the Wolfe where he had learned to divide with such equality. And like your Majesty, answered the Wolfe, my foolish Brother Asse has taught me this distributive Justice: You cannot imagine (suppose King *Henry* had beene reserved to these times) how effectually in such circumstances one contradicting Asses head chopt off, would have moved and terrified the rest of his Brethren, and make them plyant to the Kings will and desires. But it is memorable, that this Prince, who against the Lawes of God and man, had violated, frustrated, and diverted the Wills and Legacies of so many thousands, should not have his owne will and testament scarce in one point fulfilled. And having commanded his Sonne should be brought up in the Romane Catholick Religion, and there should be no Protectour, the condition and ambition of a Protectour being rendred most odious to him, by the memory of *Richard Duke of Gloster* Protectour, to *Edward 6.* The Duke of *Somerset* was made Protectour of the yong King, and the said Duke innovated all matters concerning Religion, and the worship of God, made a havock also of the Church Goods; the Kings 16. Executors being put out of Authority.

Major. I have read that *Henry* the Eight, at his entrance into the Regallity, found six hundred forty and five goodly, faire, and rich Monasteries, Priories, Frieries, and Nunneries, ninty, and six faire Colledges (besides those of the Universities) one hundred and ten Hospitals; two thousand three hundred seaventy foure Chappells and free Chappels, which were in building ever since

our recett of Christianity these were all pulled downe & ruined ; and defaced in the space of 18. or 19. yeares , and all the Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Rents amounting to above one hundred and fifty thousand pound yearly, according to the Rates of those times, and a great part thereof were also Rents of Assize, were seized on by the King, distracted to, and prophaned by Laymen.

Freeman. A man would conceive that *Henry* the Eight having so seized the Church, very little should be left for after commers to pray upon ; yet notwithstanding *Seimour* and *Dudly* could plentifully glean after King *Henrys* harvest : For *Dudly* then onely Viscount *Lisle*, afterwards Earle of *Warwick*, and finally Duke of *Northumberland* disdaining the equality, and competition of 16. Executors, perceiving *Seimour* Earle of *Harford*, to be a man of no wisdom or courage ; yet respected for his assibility, and fortunate, rather then valorous managing his charge of imployer in France and Scotland, ambitious and desirous to surmount his fellow Executors in the administration of all businesses private and publick touching the King and the Kingdome, as Uncle to the King, but withall observed, that he had not capacity to digest, or plausibly manage affaires of high concernment ; wherefore he insinuated nearely and dearly into his friendship, and put him on to attempt the Protectorship over the yong King, and so to breake and shatter the Authority, and equality of the 16. Executors, foreseeing, that he would easily split himselfe, and fall into some such error of State, that he (*Dudly*) making the Protector a stalking Horse to his ambitious ends, might at his owne times take occasion to ruine, and put downe againe, and so himselfe being popular assume the sway of all matters into his owne hands. And so accordingly by a combination betwixt these 2. *Seimour* is made Protector, and Duke of *Somerset*, *Dudly* Earle of *Warwick*, who thrust the Protector upon all desperate actions to make him (as they did) odious to the King, Nobility, and Gentry. His Engines perswaded the Dutches to incense her husband against his Brother *Thomas Seimour*, Lord *Sudely*, that he sought to take away his life, thereby to have his place of Protector ; whereupon he procured his Brother upon feigned suggestions to be attainted by Parliament, and the Act was no sooner passed, then

then by Warrent from himselfe, his Noble Brothers head was chopt off. *Warwick* also advised and urged the dull Protector to make a suddaine alteration both in State and Religion; in the attempt whereof; Doctor *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, Doctor *Bonner* of *London* and divers other Bishops opposing this innovation were committed to Prison. And these two Church robbers so playd their parts, that all silver Chalicees, Cruits, Croffes, Pixes, Candlesticks, Censers, Basons, consecrated silver and golden Vessels, Copes, Vestments, and other Church Ornaments richly embrodered, were taken out of all Churches, and for satisfaction of the people, first carryed into the Kings Wardrobe, but afterwards converted to their owne uses. Also all Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments given for upholding Lampes, Lights, and other pious uses fell into the absolute disposall of the King, or rather of the Protector; and *Warwick*, who still pushed on the Protector into these hairebraine and precipitate courses, and afterwards made them matters of Engrievance against him. Likewise all Religious Monuments were demolished, and amongst the rest the most stately curious Works of the Cloyster Charnell house, and daunce of Paules, which two Chappels were turned into shoppes, and the stones thereof, together with the Strand Church, the Strand Inne, two Bishops houses, being all of them standing together, and the sumptuous Church of *St. Johns* without Smithfield were all pulled downe, and the materialls together with the ground in the Strand, converted into a dwelling house, without either Church or Chappell (as King *James* observed) to which end also the Church of *St. Margaret* in Westminster was designed; but before the pulling downe thereof the Protector's head was chopt off for a businesse wherein he might have had the benefit of his Clergy, but through the justice of God, he who had been such an Enemy to Religion, the Clergy, and all Learning, never remembered to demand it: Having first lost the love of the yong King his Nephew, the Nobility, and people, for the death of the Lord *Sudely* his Brother, his cruelty to the Bishops and Clergy at home, and the Scottish Clergy abroad, his conversion of 2 Churches, 2 Bishops houses, and their Chappells, and Channtries on both sides of Paules, the Cloyster, and Charnell into a dwelling house for himselfe, without Church or Chappell therein; where-

by the people deem'd him irreligious, an Atheist and a Demi-devil. After whose death *Warwick* who was newly created D. of *Northumberland*, engrossed the sway of all matters within the Realme, who though a Romane Catholick, yet such was his covetousnesse, that he like wise exceedingly robbed the Church, and under pretence of the Kings necessities, sold all Jewels, Chalicees, Crofles, Candlesticks, Censors of Gold and Silver, Copes, and Ornaments of the Church, leaving to every Church one Chalice, one Communion cloth, and one Surplice, he made also by sale of Chantry Lands great summes of money: Thus you have heard how by making a Schisme, and division in the Church, King *Henry* seized on the Church Livings and Treasure: after him the Protector made an absolute separation, and converted Churches and Chappels to prophane uses, robbed all the Churches of their Riches and Ornaments. *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland*, although a Catholick, yet continued, and made more wide this breach for his owne ambitious and covetous ends; but how Gods heavy vengeance overtooke them all, our Chronicles doe sufficiently and lamentably testifie: The King dying a begger, and in much desperation mumbling these last wordes, Monkes, Friers, *Brian*, wee have lost all. I should have told you, how being in these desperate agonies, advised by some to erect his thoughts, and to call upon God for mercy; he answered how could he expect mercy, who had never spared mans life in his wrath, nor womans honour in his lust? And he who *per fas, & nefas*, so multiplied wivs to leave a succession of Heires, after some few yeares had not one left *qui mingeret ad parvalem*, and in lesse then threescore yeares all his Issue extinct. The Protector egged, and cheated into desperate courses, by *Northumberland*, afterwards supplanted, deposed, imprisoned, fined, arraigned, condemned, and executed by means of the same *Northumberland*, who likewise having contrived and prosecuted the destruction of a Religion, which in his conscience he thought the true, and onely Religion, as appears by his answer to Sir *Anthony Browne* (afterwards Viscount *Mountacute*) to whom, and others moving him for the restitution of the Romane Religion, he replied: Albeit he knew the same Religion to be true, yet seeing a new Religion was begun, *RUN DOG RUN DEVILE*, he would goe forwards: I say this great Duke,
for

for Treason against the Crowne, the succession whereof he would have diverted, and settled upon the Lady *Jane*, and his owne Posterity, (or as many believed on himselfe by marryage with the true Heire, the Lady *Mary*) was beheaded, and on the scaffold sincerely professed the Romane Religion, bewailing much that blinded by ambition, he conceived a facility by alteration of Religion to compasse, and atchieve his own ends; he deplored his execrable attempts injurious to the Church, traitorous to the Crowne, pernicious to the Commonwealth, vouching for witness of his faith, D. *Heath* Archbishop of Yorke, and afterwards Chancelour.

Major. You speake of strange dilapidations and depredations of the Church; yet Queene *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and his Son our Sovereigne King *Charles* have no wayes been injurious, but favourers, advancers, and beneficiall to the Clergy.

Freeman. Queene *Elizabeth* to secure her title (in question by reason of her Fathers marriage with *Anne of Bullen*) against *Mary* Queene of Scots reputed by many the true Heire following the advise of her new States-men, but deep Politicians altered the whole frame of Ecclesiasticall affaires, put downe the old Religion, to which the Kingdom but 4 or 5 years before was reconciled, after the breach in King *Henry* the Eighth, and *Edward* the sixth Raigne, deposed the Bishops, banished and imprisoned the most eminent Clergy men; all the Parish Priests were either to conforme themselves to the new brought in Religion, or to loose their Benefices; and this was not onely in London, but throughout the whole Kingdome; and you may imagine in what a puzzle were the poore Curates, Parish Priests, Prebends, Deanes, Bishops, Arch Bishops, when they must either loose their lively-hoods, or else assent to, and professe such Doctrines which were diametrically opposite to their avire faith and Religion. And this Persecution was far more cruell then the present affliction of the Clergy-men in and about London since the beginning of this Parliament, which the Authour (and it seemes he is a learned man) is pleased to stile the Eleaventh Persecution.

Major. I have read this Booke, and the Gentleman (whosoever made it) hath many observable passages; we will discourse of it anon: in the meane time I pray proceed.

Freeman. Dr. *Jussell* Bishop of Salisbury in a Sermon before Q.
Elizabeth

Elizabeth, saies, that the ancient Churchmen being thrust out of their livings, a company of illiterate Mechanicks were planted in their roomes, such who could but write and read, and gather in Tithes for their Patrons use, with courchees for some wages for their journey work, which made the Clergy so contemptible, that a Zealous Minister heavily complained, that no Gentleman would bestow his sonne on the Ministry, nor his Daughter on the Minister: Yet in 'ime (as our English wits are pregnant) the Universities afforded a Clergy sufficiently learned for humane literature, Sermons and Sophistry; but scarce ever lanch'd into the depth of Learning, (the Metaphysiques, and Schoole Divinity) though most capable of such penetrations, yet for certaine jealous policies debarred them. 'Tis true *Queene Elizabeth* suffered her owne, and new made Bishops and Clergy to injoy what was left the Church, after the many sacrilegious violences, and robberies of *Henry the Eight* her Father, *Somerset*, and *Northumberland*; yet she did not restore to the Church such Lands were in the possession of the Crowne, and belonged to the Church; though her Sister *Queene Mary* had left her a faire precedent in that nature. Nor would she ever condescend that the marriages of Ministers should be lawfull, nor their children legitimate, (the Matrimony of such Parents by ancient Canons, being made invalid, as persons *inhabiles ad contrahendum*) which King *James* afterwards did by Act of Parliament, and as he was a Prince learned himselfe, so he was a great favourer, and advancer of learning and learned men. And certainly if our Universities had followed his precepts and advice, wee had knowne many Divines of more solid erudition, though perhaps not of so great Eloquence. His Son K. *Charles* a Prince adorned with all the endowments of a Gentleman, a favourer of all Sciences, a lover and advancer of all the Clergy men, who could entitle themselves to learning; yet unfortunate in, and for the Clergy, the quarrels betwixt the Kingdomes beginning about Church businesses, and the wofull consequences of those Scottish quarrels and English combustions, being the imprisonment of his Sacred Majesty, the expulsion of his Royal bedphere and Issue, the ruine of the Kingdom, putting downe of Episcopacy, the sale and alienation of Bishops Lands, and with the overthrow of Learning, the cherishing

thing and advancement of Learning; being the Nurse, or rather the Mother of Studies and good literature. Finally the alteration of Religion, and leaving the people, (the present being put downe) in a quandary what Religion they shall next have, and be forced to professe.

Major. I must confesse, that it is very strange, what the Author of the Eleventh Persecution writes, that in the space of 12 yeares, Religion was changed foure times, and this done by Act of Parliament.

Freeman. And is it not then as lamentable; that our English Nation must still keepe their consciences prepared to embrace, and professe what Religion the Parliament will impose upon them, or undergo such penalties, as imprisonment, mulcts, punishments, and the like, as the Parliament shall impose on Non-conformists, and tender consciences, as wee see hath been practised these many yeeres aient and against such who refused to heare the Divine Service, which is now declared to be damnable and superstitious. But though Princes and Rulers may compell Subjects under them to conforme themselves to the present and practised Discipline of the Church, yet such conformity is rather an hypocriticall shew, then a reall profession: For as *Lactantius* saies well, who can impose on me a necessity to believe what I would not, or not believe what I would: Therefore in these occasions a wise Governour will use that temper and patient prudence, which he practises when his Lute or Viol is out of tune. He doe not in anger breake the instrument, or cut the strings, but gently winde them up, or softly slackning let them downe: So *Quod in filiis, hoc in fide*, when any Christians believe is Heterodoxall, a discrete Magistrate will not cruelly destroy the misbelieving Subject, but by gentle perswasions, efficacious reasons, endeavour to mollifie his will, and rectifie his understanding, well knowing the minde of man is noble, and like a generous and high-couraged horse, that will goe better-guided by a snaffle, then outbitt by a bit, remembering also that of *Salust.* both men and Cities are rather overthrowne, then bettered by too severe judgements.

Major. But to permit sundry Religions in a Kingdome, is against the safety of the State, by reason of the contentions, hatreds, heart burnings, and combustions, which ordinarily accompany the severall professors.

D

Frie.

Freeman. You may imagine so; but I am sure the Egyptian Kings thought and practised otherwise, who, as *Diodorus Siculus* recordeth purposely brought in, and cherished diversities of Religions to secure their Empire from the Subjects conspiracies. And *Ammianus Marcellinus* an Heathen Authour writes, that *Julian* the Emperour conveeked all the Christian Bishops into his Palace, and friendly admonished them and the Laity (all dissentions layd aside) quietly without molesting one another to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and every one follow that Religion which he liked best, which saies *Ammianus*, he therefore did that by their disunion in Religion he might prevent all unanimity in plotting and conspiring against him. You'll say these Monarkes of Egypt were Pagans, and *Julian* a Renegado and Apostata. I confesse 'tis true, but what then will you answer to the moderation of *Valentinian*? Therefore much commended by the same Historian; for that amidst the diversity of so many Religions, (though he professed himselfe, and was a Catholick) yet he never persecuted any for their conscience, nor compelled his Subjects to embrace this or that Religion, nor with threatening Edicts constrained them to professe that faith which he himselfe professed. Such also was the favourable deportment of *Theodosius*, and in our Fathers dayes of *Charles* the first, and other pious Emperours; whereas it is remarkable, that such Princes, who have been extraordinarily vicious and impious, have likewise been notoriously cruel in the persecution of the Church. Instances may be made in *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, *Constantinus*, *Copronymus*, and diverse others.

Major. What Persecutions the Heathen Princes raised against Gods Church, was either out of zeale to their Idols, or rather out of madness: for those which you have named, and some others were rather Monsters then men, and as their private actions were most degenerate from the dignity of man, so their publick fury, and persecution of Christians were inhumane and diabolically. But I am astonished that such Princes and Statesmen, who are insignized with the indelible character of a Christian, should make Religion a stalking horse to their ambitious, and covetous aimes, quarrell with, and alter Religion, defame and persecute the Clergy, only for sacrilegious ends, to rob, and make spoiles of the Church.

Church as *Henry the 8.* *Solomon* the proteſſour, and *Dudley* did.

Fremman. I dare not ſwear (as the Author of the eleventh Perſecution poſitively doth) that theſe harſh-burles ſince 1641. and the alteration both of Religion, and Government in the Kingdome were plotted and effected for ſiniſter ends, and private intereſts, and all thoſe who concurred, and furthered them had their peculiar ends and indireſt aims. 1. The Courtiers hoped to thruſt out the Kings favourites, and be advanced themſelves in their roomes. 2. The Country Nobility hoped by new modelling the Court, to gaine preferment, and the diſpoſall of all chiefe Offices of State. 3. The Gentry were whetted on with deſires of revenge for private injuries, eaſe of Monopolies, and taxes, hopes of preferment, gaine, and imployment. 4. Tob-preachers, Lecturers, and Sectaries hoped by this alteration to invade other mens livings, and that the Biſhops lands ſhould be allotted to maintaine preaching Miniſters; but in this they were fruſtrated of their expectation: the Armies arrears like *Phaſes* leane kine devouring them, and the fat of the land, and to which in time the whole Kingdome will be indebted in far greater ſummes then it is worth: and the Souldiers ſword has more power then a Serjants Mace to arreſt debtors. Finally the Lawyer, the Clowne and Citizen had perverſe ends to be obtained by theſe alterations. The Lawyer to thruſt the Clergy out of all authority and juuriſdiction, the Country man to defraud the Church of Tithes, and the Citizen expected by theſe mutations to ſee their London another *Ormus* for commerce, and Trade. This was the *Utopia* fancied, hoped for, and plotted by many. But the woſull effects are the captivity of the King, the proſtitution of his Royall conſort, and iſſue, the Nobility in danger to be levelled, the Gentry (for a great part) actually beggered, Merchandize debatted, all ſorts of Trade decayed, the Commonalty almoſt ſtarved, Religion even thruſt out of the Kingdome; finally the Ruine of a late flouriſhing Nation: every where much abundance of miſery, no where the leaſt appearance of Remedy. Yet few reflect on, or retract the true cauſe of theſe calamities, our finnes, but like Carriers-horſes we plod on, yea weary our ſelves in the Rode way of iniquity, and toile out our ſelves in walking craggy Paths. Sap. 8. The Nobility, how much have many of them degenerated from that heroic

spirit; which informed and adorned their magnanimous forefathers; yet like that stupid *Romane*, who marrying *Tullies* wife, fondly conceited he should have in Dowry with her *Tullies* Eloquence. So these fondly possess themselves because they descend from such honourable Antecessors, they must be Heires, as of their Stemme and Revenues, so of their worth, virtues, and respect. Oh the Fable of the cheated Horse, and Hart, would learne these Grandees wit, (if they were capable of so supreme a benefit), and teach who rides, twitches, and spurres them: But now (though horses) they have been so long jaded and cowed, they dare not once recalcitrate. The Gentry profuse, vaine, and debauched, and too many of them, because they will serve no God, believe there is none, and measure the excellency of their wits by their proficiency in Atheisme. The Citizen more malicious, proud, hypocriticall, covetous then ever; yet is in his owne eyes a Saint, and would appeare so in the eyes of others: In all wicked attempts most desperately valiant, but more timorous then Hares when true valour should be shewne, as appeared in the surrender of the City, and the Ouant March of the (then) rag rag Army through the Towne. They were the first seconds, the constant fomenters, and obstinate supporters of these unnaturall, and Realme-destroying combustions: And it is much to be feared will be the last, shal dearely pay for, and heavily repent their unadvised follies. Generally the whole Kingdome stiff-necked, brutish, and irreligious; uncertaine what faith to embrace, themselves yet haters, and persecutors of what Religion is profess'd by Oathen.

Major. For what I can collect out of your discourse, the Church hath been most passive in these Revolutions, and combustions, the Clergy men being thrust out of their livings, and imprisoned, their Wives and children turned out of doores, Episcopacy voted downe, the lands of Bishops, Deanes, and Chapters, sold and alienated. Is there any thing now considerable left to be made a prey on in the next grassation?

Freeman. Yes, for a new generation, there remains Churches to be pulled downe, and Parsonages to be made money of. So the Protestour converted so many Churches, and Chappels to the erecting his stately Somerset house.

Major. But then in what place should we serve God?

Freeman.

Freeman. As they doe in Scotland, in spacious Barres good enough for Tab-preachers. And what a fine spectacle will it be to have Sir *Aminadab* hoist up in a basket in the middle of the Barre (like some puffy Prentice that fetches a Cheese at Bolomee Inne) and from thence plentifully distribute chaff; and chopt hay to the cackling Geese his audience. Your Presbyteriall Discipline is likely to be established for the space of three yeares, if the Treaty conclude well betwixt the King and Parliament, but then or before that: I prognosticate it shall not continue; 'tis already cried down, and the Kingdome is afraid and weary of it, even before they have it, as observed to be most cruel, and seditious cruelty; for what is the Discipline of the Kirke of Scotland? But all severity and inhumane cruelty, and barbarisme. The *HORNE* a punishment not fit for Turkish Slaves, much lesse for Christian sonles. And with what rabid eagerneesse did your Grandfather *John Calvin* prosecute *Michael Servet* at *Geneva*, whose History and death; (himselfe being the Authour of the mercilesse Execution he writ: Nor was he more favourable to *Valentinus Gentilis*, his owne Disciple, who by Mr. *Calvin* instigating the Magistrates, was condemned to death; but recanting his Heresie, *Valentinus* contrary to his Oath got secretly out of *Geneva*, when lapsing into his old errors, he was put to a miserable death at *Berne* in *Switzerland*. Notwithstanding many have accused *Calvin* of most erroneous positions against the goodnesse of God, as also the dignity of our Saviour Christ his Sonne. Likewise your Presbyterian, or Puritan Faction raised this present or Eleaventh Persecution, as our often cited Authour calls it, against the Protestant Church, and because you woul kill two birds with one bolt, you involved with them the Papists. How seditious and dangerous to Commonwealthes you have been, Germany, the Low Countries, France, and Holland testifie. The Bellowers and Bontifews to kindle and blow the Coales of Rebellion, mutiny and disention have been your Chamber Lecturers, and Tub-preachers, and the onely way for Magistrates to secure Commonwealths, is either to inhibite such Assemblies, or take speciall care contentious and railing Sermons be not made, which stir up the people not to devotion, or deedes of charity, and mutuall love; but to dislike of the present government in the Commonwealth,

discipline in the Church, contempt of Magistrates, and hate of their spirituall Pastours : This was foreseene, and foretold by *D. Land* Archbishop of Canterbury (a man of great parts, and much foresight) who in his booke against *P. Fisher* prognosticates the overthrow of his Protestant Church by the active and pragmatick Puritan. *Cyrill* lately Patriark of Constantinople is a fresh example of the tumultuous, and inquiet spirit of Puritanisme. He kept correspondence with *G. Abbot*, Predecessour to *D. Land*, and sent his Nephew into England to be thoroughly indoctrinated in the Principles of Calvinisme, which he attempted to bring amongst the Grecians; but being accused of new fangled Novelties, he was thrust out of his Patriarchall Throne, and lastly by command of the grand *Signieur* had his head cut off from his shoulders; the Turkish Emperour being informed how dangerous the Calvinian Doctrine is to Monarchike Government.

Major. Suppose what you said were true, yer as far as I can perceive your Independency is more opposite, and pernicious both to Monarchy, as also all other formes of government, whether civill, or Ecclesiasticall: but I pray before you answer me, speake what an Independent is.

Freeman. I will upon condition you tell me what a Protestant is, which appellation your Anabaptist, Brownist, Puritan, Independent, Antinomian, and many other Sects claime, all challenging to be the true Protestant Church. Consult with the Bishop of *Armad*, Doctour *Prideaux*, B. of Worcester, and learned *Dn Holdsworth* but take heed of committing an Arabick Scopelisme. That a Puritan should be a strangers Angel, a Neighbours plague, a Saint abroad, a Divell at home, is our Authors, though a most bitter character: But to your question, because the true Independent thinks it a thing unreasonable, that Christians should be persecuted for their consciences; therefore Atheists, who have no consciences, Jewes, and the scumme of all Sects assume to themselves the title of Independents, that under that shadow and name they may shelter their God denying Doctrines, and soules destroying Principles: Whereas the nature of true Independency is so copiously furnished with abstruse quiddities, rare perfections, and sublime formalities, that the characterisme of the Concrete must emulate *Lactantius* his description of *Archimedis* sphere

sphere; and *Maximus Tyrius* negative expression of the Duty, and divine pulchritude.

A true Independent therefore is a terrestrial Angel, divinely spirited, who in this multiplicity of Religions, with much care, labour, and devout invocation of the only Independents aide, makes an inquiry which is the true Church, in which the believers may be saved, out of which inevitable ruine is to be feared; nor does he in this search depend on his own abilities, but rely on the testimonies of sacred Scriptures, is helped with the consent of learned Fathers, and holy Doctors: Having found this conspicuous City on the Mount, he incorporates himself a Member of the same, firmly resolving, that neither love of life, or feare of death, no tribulation, no persecution shall make him forsake his union with that body, nor separate him from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus. He is nobly prepared to suffer the worst death for the profession of his faith; yet piously abhors any should undergo the least vexation for his Religion. He do's, or do's not to his Neighbours, as he desires to be dealt with by them. He can with a magnanimous minde suffer wrongs, and content with his owne mediocrity, he will not flatter great Ones, be no slave to their humours, nor active instrument to bring about their indirect ends: So long as he is in debt, he accounts himselfe no freeman, but dependant on his Creditour, therefore makes haste to discharge himselfe. He can and dares fight with a Foo, but knowing his owne disproportionate passions, vicious habits, unbridled appetites; more dangerous enemies of him, an Independency from their tyrannick Lawes, and impetuous sway, the happy fruit of his combats with, and Victories over them.

Major. I could wish my selfe enroled in the list of such Independents as you have described. But we have onely heard of *Xenophons* Prince, *Plato's* Common-wealth, *Tullies* Orator, and our *Sir Thomas Moores* well Ordered Utopia.

Freeman. Do you conceive thele were never extant surely, many Histories make mention of *Cyrus*, a Monarke of many Kingdomes, a Prince according to *Xenophons* institution, in whom his subjects were happy, but the barbarous *Massagets* envying both his and their happinesse, surprized and detayned him in durance; where he comforted himselfe with that prudence and magnanimity, that his fetters (like King *Agrippas* golden chaine) more became him then his Imperiall Diademe. This true, *Justin* out of *Herodotus*, relates this victorious Monarke was overthrowne and

slaine

ruled by the Seythian Queene. The Calipolitans in Greece ob-
 served *Platoes* Lawes and forme of government, at what time *Phi-*
lip banished out of Macedon all the skellums and raskals of his
 Country, and compelled them to live in a City which hee had built
 purposely for them called *Pontropolis*, that is the Town of Knaves.
 These plundering Varlets with an anslought tooke *Calipolis*, killed
 man, woman and childe, ranlaekt, and fired the Towne: since
 which time, never any Common wealth was governed according
 to *Platoes* institution. The Romans often heard *Tullies* Oratour di-
 vinely preach, till *Fulvia* that wicket woman cut out his tongue,
 for Philippizing her husband the Triumvir. Lastly, Sir *Thomas*
More erected his *Utopia* in terra incognita, adjoyning to *Mar dell*
ZUR, and sogue *Columba*, *Vesputius*, or Sir *Francis Drake* heere-
 after may discover it. Now for my Independent, I must confesse
 thousands lay claime to that title, but never attaine to the dignity;
 yet there are innumerable qualified with this celestial heate, a com-
 municated particle of that divine fire. Who after they have
 long laboured to purchase *Rachel*, marry indeede the same beautiful
 Lady (true Independency) and are not consued by *Laban* with
 bleare eyed *Leah*, And as there is a vicissitude in humane affaires
 both spirituall and temporall. In Queene *Elizabeths* Raigne, Re-
 ligion was quite altered (the old Clergy excluded) a new Mini-
 stry with Prelates instituted; I know not by what meanes you
 have now cryed them downe, expeld, and turned them out of
 doores, and have your trienniall sway: Before that be expired,
 you must give my heroick and ingenuous Independents leave to
 come in play, extrude you, and institute a to be admired Repub-
 lique both in Civill and Ecclesiasticall administration. And then
 never feare to be put to the Horne, carry fagots, or in a Catoach
 take your journey to Tiburne. No, every man shall sit quietly un-
 der his owne Vine, and blithly chaunt hymnes of his owne com-
 posing, better metred and far more melodious then those of *Hop-*
kins, *Sternhold*, and put in *Robert Wisdome* too. Weele have no
 Sefquipedalian Church man make his Reader groane at the hyper-
 bolical title of the twelfth persecution, in the meane time *K A*
M E E, and I'll *K A T H E E*; give us licence to enjoy our
 Religion, weele grant you leave to use your liberty of con-
 science.

Major.

Major. Indeed I have much wondred why the Authour would Rile his booke, the Eleventh Persecution.

Freeman. Observe, in one onely *R O M E*, within the space of litle more then 200. yeares were about 30000. Martyrs bloodily butchered, besides what numbers were massacred in other parts of the Roman Empire: What cruel persecutions did the Arians raise against the Catholicks under *Constantinus, Valens, Gensericus*, and other Princes infected with that Heresie? Weole come lower, and nearer home. Compare this Puritan Persecution of the Protestant Church with King *Henries* cruelties against both Protestant and Catholicks: Queene *Maries* punishments of Protestants, and this, shall scarce appeare a silly fleabiting; for in all this Persecution, I heare not of one Minister executed, no not of a bloody nose or broken pate: I have seen more bloodshed a cudgell playing in the streets. But (you will say), their Wives were turned out of doores at midnight. Alas poore Ladies, I am sorry for them; yet 'tis not recorded in any authentick Historie, that any of them got an ague by that incivility, though 'tis very likely they might take cold.

Major. But these Parliamentary afflictions resemble Gods punishments, descending to the third and fourth Generation, of those that hate them, (such they esteeme Royallists, Malignants, and Papists.) Now the Ministers have wives, sons, and daughters, and many of them being aged to have daughters, who can say to their daughters, rise up daughter, &c. and the Tribe of *Levi* hath for patrimony Benefices, Prebendaries, more proficuous, and honorable titles and revenues, all which being by the present Parliament taken away for Non-conformity, or under the title of Maligancy, many Clergy mens condition must be most lamentable, suffering in a Posterior so long continued, who are all undone in the depauperating of one single Minister, Father, Grandfather, great Grandfather to a proletrarily numerous generation.

Freeman. Truly their case is much deplorable; I am very sorry, and much commiserate any Christian should so much suffer for the profession of his Faith, which in his conscience he imagines is conformable to the sacred Scriptures, acceptable to, and authorized by *G O D* himselfe. But with the hundred Protestant Ministers thrust out of their Livings by the Puritan Faction, I will pa-

sell many hundred Recusants turned out of doors, and all they
 have by a *premunire*, and committed to perpetuall imprisonment by
 Parliamentary Authority for refusing to take a capitious, litigious,
 and Mesandrous Oath, composed by a Renegado of his faith, to
 make quarrels amongst Christians; condemned by the supremest
 Authority and Learning in Christendome; mistaked by some, who
 when they were poore impugned it, but growing rich were stout-
 est Champions for it; detested even by such, who though they
 abhor this Oath; yet unseasonably and ridiculously make a moule
 trap of it, either to ensnare consciences, or fill prisons: For why
 should such Justices of Peace put to, and compell ignorant soules
 to take this Oath of Allegiance to the King, so ambiguous in
 termes, so intricate in clauses? yet they themselves by Votes,
 Demands, and Consultations endeavour to dethrone the same
 King? For refusing this schisme-making Oath, farced with so
 many soule-destroying Niceties how many hundred Recusants
 poore and rich, yong and old, men and women have beene com-
 mitted to merclesse Goales in, and about London, where for want
 of aire and sustenance, they have miserably perished? With great
 reason *Aristotle* sayes; Death is the most terrible of all things.
 i. Because it makes a divorce betwixt the soule and the body.
 Two; That have bin long time individual companions, the soule by
 conversion to phantasmes taking pleasure in what objects the
 body is delighted in, the body an officious Minister, and active
 instrument of all the commands, (whether just or unjust) the soule
 it's Queene and Mistres shall despotically impose. Secondly, a
 perpetuall separation followes at the becke of this grim Monster,
 of all things most deare both to the soule and body; wife, children,
 friends, servants, honours, riches, dignities, offices, and pleasures.
 We will travell no further then, and about London, and reckon
 betwixt 20. and 30. Priests condemned to death, most of them ex-
 ecuted for Religion since the beginning of this Parliament. And
 the circumstances of their deaths makes the Monster (ugly in his
 owne shape) appeare more horrid and ghastly. They were
 tryed before Judges who resolved to hang them before they were
 tryed: They were tryed by a Jury of Middlesex (who starts not
 even at that very name?) Witnesses against them were pillored,
 and perjured sons of Belial, who would for five shillings swear

innocent *Mahab* hath blasphem'd God, and the King, *Reg. 3. 2. 11.* and fourteen millions betray our Saviour, were he againe passive, and walked under the nation of a Priest, drawne on a sledge to Tyburne, they are there hanged, their bellies ript up, and hearts being taken out of their bodies flung into the fire under the gallows; then as a Butcher cuts up, and quarters an Oxe, or Calfe, the Priests (before mangled) carcases are cut up, and divided into foure severall quarters: with these disorderly tumbled, and huddled into a capacious basket, *Gregory Brandon* the Common Hangman returns to Newgate, sitting in Oxant pride on the sledge like some Triumphant Consul; but looking more terrible then dreadful *Automedon*, or the bloody Chariot driver of Vindictive *Tomyris*, all besprinkled with reeking Gore of the slaughtered Persian Monarch, the Catastrophe of this Tragedy is purboiling the foure quarters in a vast braile pot, to make a prepared dish for the Fowles of the aire, to which purpose they are dispersed and placed on severall Gates of the City, the heads on poles over London bridge, where they hourly preach to the City, Suburbs, and Countie, how that function, and those men, for whom, and the exercise of which all our Churches were built, Universities erected, and Colledges founded, is judged by the Lawes of our Realme Treason, and they as Traitors executed. Of seven Priests condemned together, 1641, two only survive, the rest consumed with the tediousness of a miserable imprisonment, want of aire, and all commodities necessary for the sustenance of life. All of them have been divers times robbed and plundered their hoores, their clothes, considerable sums of money taken from them, contrary to the Lawes of God, and the Realme, the honour of this Nation, the dignity and authority of the Sherifles of London, to whose charge & care the Prison is conscredited, & all these felonies done by the Parliaments Officers, to who though Petitions were addressed for remedy, yet no redresse was ever vouchsafed; inasmuch if in any, surely in this occasion may that of *Seneca* be verified, it is sometime a kinde of mercy to kill soone. And who hath read of *Ignatius* the Martyrs ten Leopards accustomed to be more cherished when you are beneficiall to them, will not censure these expressions too hyperbolically.

Major. We thinkes the Romane Catholicks should relieve such persons,

persons, who for their owne Religion suffer in Prison.

Answer. Alas they have been so sliced, punished, and plundered, that they have little or nothing for themselves; much less to maintain so many in prison. And if you observe, the greatest part of the Kingdome groanes under the yoke, and burthen of Oppression, or Delinquency, the Papists have a third charge, namely of Recusancy put in against them. And indeed for one of these three, or all three parts of our Country are quite ruined, and undone: Onely such who are of, and belong to the Parliament, are the Golden Calves of this Age, addomorned Bulls plentifully feeding in the fertile Pastures of Basan. Whereas I know an illustrious Gentleman, that has kept above a hundred Gallant Cocks of the Game worthy to enter the lists, and fight Duels before *Adams*, *Arbony*, *Quarri*, and *Lepp*, is exhausted for his Loyalty that he has scarce where withall to buy a lean Chicken for his dinner. Your great Ladies that were wont to have their Madammoiselle *Gargrave*, or *Esperance* beck to mend their faule, or rectifie their Periwik, are now content to have homely Countrey *Wives* supply the place of Cooke Maide, Char ber Maide, and Waiting Woman; yet vouchsafe sometimes to turne the spit, or scumme the pot themselves. They have forgot how to sit (like the Lady *Lebber*) in a Coach: And onely know by tradition, that the Paradise of Pleasure (Spring Garden) and Groves of *Adams* (Hills Parke) are distant, though like this at the Frontiers of Eden, theres an intervening Zone debarrs all access to them: Wherefore a Voyage now, and then to the Stillyard, or a Pilgrimage on foot to Toynam Court is a very gratefull and much wished for recreation. Yet in all these calamities (desolate beauties) doe they not forget their wonted devotions: but with much zeal say their prayer backward for the Parliament (the cause as they imagine of all their miseries) and heartily desire God will amend this wicked World.

